Horst-Alfred Heinrich
Annegret Werner

Patriots' outgroups: documentation of an empirical study

Content

institutional affiliation:
Institute for Social research (SOWI I)
University of Stuttgart
Email: isfhah@sowi.uni-stuttgart.de

1. Introduction

Nation is known as successful political concept constituting modern societies (Smith 1991). It forms a frame defining who is allowed to participate in societal resources and which obligations are imposed on nation members. The importance of this concept cannot be underestimated because people supporting their nation are eventually willing to sacrifice themselves when their nation is threatened by foreign groups.

No doubt, until now, the concept of nation has been replicated in different types within the last centuries and in different parts of the world. Nevertheless, the definition of the concept is not as unambiguous as it should be from a social scientist's view. Despite several objectivist as well as subjectivist definitions, we are not able to specify why someone is membership ascribed and which characteristics a member should have (Blank 1997). Finally, it is difficult to deduct from definitions the requirements for citizenship. Therefore, it is not clear who is being considered as foreign. The latter could be ignored, if discrimination would not have been a danger to life and limb for uncountable people. From historical research about development of nations we know how often individuals have been victimized in wars, massacres, and genocides committed in the name of the nation and in order to promote its union, power status, or its power position (Anderson 1983; Dann 1993).

In scholarly work we learn about a normatively wishful form of identification with nation[1] as well as about a chauvinistic type.[2] Unfortunately, none of the several definitions is consistent. The most striking problem is that there is no clear concept of nation (Westle 1999; Blank 2002) from which one could deduce nationality as well as different forms of nation related attitudes.

Independent of the specific content of each of the definitions given, the general assumption is questioned, here. Implicitly, scholars support the belief that we have it to do with two contrary types of attitudes: there seem to be patriots as the good guys and nationalists as the black sheep (Cohrs 2004). Yet, there is probably no such

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[1] Positive definitions are called patriotism (Kosterman/Feshbach 1989), constructive patriotism (Schatz/Staub 1997), genuine patriotism (Levinson 1950), functional integration into nation (DeLamater et al. 1969), or constitutional patriotism (Sternberger 1979; Habermas 1989).

[2] Here, we have it to do with nationalism (Kosterman/Feshbach 1989), blind patriotism (Schatz/Staub 1997), pseudo-patriotism (Levinson 1950), symbolic integration into nation (DeLamater et al. 1969), banal nationalism (Billig 1995), or superpatriotism (Parenti 2004).

clear separation. In our view, optimal distinctiveness theory enables us to understand that every group creates outgroups by constructing *us* which automatically is distinct from *them*. Consequently, one has to assume that, generally, ingroup members are not willing to share societal resources with outgroup members. If so, one cannot divide between kind patriots and contemptible nationalists.

In the following chapter the theoretical frame is outlined in brief. Then, the methods applied are explained. Finally, the questionnaire used is presented together with frequency distributions of all items.

2. Theoretical considerations

Nationalism and patriotism as individual attitudes refer to a state internal to a person which lasts a more or less longer time (Eagly/Chaiken 1998). As such, attitudes can be seen as categorizations of a stimulus object along an evaluative dimension. The latter is generated from cognition and affect or emotion as well as from behavioural intentions as general classes of information related toward the attitude object (Ranna/Zempel 1988). The information is guiding our behaviour by leading to evaluative responses on attitudinal objects expressing likes or dislikes.

Usually it is assumed that reference toward the nation can take a positive or negative meaning. Obligation to serve the nation has always been connected with ideas of national superiority together with glorification of war and xenophobic devaluation of outgroups (Berlin 1981; Billig 1995). On the other hand, millions of people had been willing to sacrifice their lives in fights for national liberation, civil rights, and freedom. But how do we separate between national arrogance and "true" love of our own country? Maurizio Viroli (1995) shows us that human beings' relationship toward the nation always was a double edged sword. Within the last five centuries we can observe again and again a shift between two poles: nation members have been perceived as the chosen people or as collective of free citizens.

Important is that we have it to do with a normative distinction. Lots of scholars differentiate between good and bad nationalism (Breuer 2005). The good one, often called patriotism, refers to national loyalty which will be denied, if the nation does not provide democratic procedures and if human values are not guaranteed. By definition, patriots are able to bear ambiguity toward their nation, believe in subjective criteria of nation membership, and reject xenophobia (Staub 1997; Habermas 1989). In contrast, nationalism denotes the normatively rejected type of individuals' relationship

toward nation. It comprises idealization of the national ingroup and uncritical acceptance of authorities. Nationalism, then, does not allow ambiguities within the nation. Furthermore, nation membership seems to be based on objective criteria. Devaluation of outgroups, i.e. immigrants, foreigners, etc., is inherent to this concept (Staub 1997; Levinson 1950).

At first glance, the assumption of two contrasting nation related attitudes seems to be striking. But Stefan Breuer (2005) is right, when asking where we are going to find certainty that the aggressive version of nation related attitudes is not the general case. He points to convincing examples proving a relationship between democracy and aggression as well as between cosmopolitism and xenophobia. Furthermore, he can show that these examples are independent of regional and temporal circumstances.

We believe that patriotism seems to be the favourable concept because it confirms the constitutional principles of our Western societies. As "true" patriots we are allowed to feel compassion with our liberal and democratic country. Consequently, we believe that we would be willing to accept outgroups like immigrants as well as other minorities. They are thought of having the same rights like everyone.

Nevertheless, in our view many scholars do not reflect the discrepancy between normative beliefs and social reality. We imagine that social scientists often see themselves in the role of patriots as responsible liberals. If so, it is possible that they fade out the unfavourable aspects of their own role. But do patriots really love every human being? If not, how would they like to treat their enemies?

The background of the two questions can be demonstrated best by an example which happened in the German public discourse some years ago. Social-democrat and member of German Bundestag, Lale Akgün (2004), confessed her pride on Germany as Western democracy obliged to universalistic human values. At the same time she claimed that there should be no space for right-wing extremists in German society. Normative evaluation aside, Akgün behaves similar to nationalists who want to send back immigrants. Structurally, both factions define outgroups who should be excluded from the ingroup. It is quite understandable that liberal people do not like skin-heads, hooligans, and others who hate minority members. But if we are unwilling to accept underdogs' membership in our society--which, in fact, they have,--we will behave like they do.

Generally, it seems plausible to assume a relationship between national identification and devaluation of outgroups. But the question is how to conceptualize this model (Mäs 2005). Are nationalism and patriotism specific aspects of national identification? If so, how will the two factors correlate with each other? Furthermore, national identification can be seen as special case of social identity. Yet, it is clear that social identity theory does only explain why we prefer our ingroup when resources are distributed (Brown 2000). When we make a statement about why some people are willing to devalue foreigners it is necessary to refer to other theories than to social identity theory.

The conflictuous relationship between *us* and *them* can be explained by ethnocentrism (Herrmann 2001). A first glance, it can explain the relationships between xenophobia and the two types of nation-related attitudes. But it does not answer the question why nationalism and patriotism should form two independent factors as it is usually assumed (Blank 2002; Schatz/Staub 1997). Marilynn Brewer (2001) brings together both, social identity theory and the ethnocentrism concept. She agrees that social comparisons do not necessarily lead to competitive situations. Whether there is competition or not depends on the motive linked with social comparison. On the one hand, individuals may strive to self-enhancement at the expense of outgroups. On the other hand, social comparison may be applied because people are interested in objective self-appraisal and prompted to self-correction and improvement. The crucial aspect, here, is that of motivation. In contrast to social identity theory, Brewer doubts that individuals solely use social identification in order to heighten self-esteem. Instead, optimal distinctiveness theory is based on the axiom that human beings' behaviour is guided by "a need for *inclusion* that motivates assimilation of the self into large, impersonal social collectives, and an opposing need for *differentiation* that is satisfied by distinguishing the self from others. As opposing motives, the two needs hold each other in check." (Brewer 2001: 21) A person behaves as both, the unique individual who tries to be autonomous and independent as well as the indistinguishable group member who can feel secure within the group.

Both basic human needs are served by attachment to a group. With good reason we may insist on our autonomy. But usually we rely on others when we want to achieve our aims. Then, we have to calculate uncertainty. Cooperation depends on support of and by others who are willing to cooperate likewise. "Ingroups can be defined as bounded communities of mutual trust and obligation that delimit mutual interdepend-

ence and cooperation." (Brewer 2001: 29) Social categorisation and clear group boundaries provide security. The individual can profit from cooperative interdependence without fearing excessive costs within the group. Consequently, obligation ends at the ingroup's boundary.

It is clear that nationalists will differentiate between *us* and *them*. But if both need for distinctiveness as well as need for inclusion are assumed as universal, patriots will show distinctive behaviour, too. The question, then, is how both groups define their respective ingroup and which criteria describe their specific relationships toward outgroups.

If others are defined as outgroup with which we do not want to share resources, our behavioural strategies toward them might range between indifference and aggression. No doubt, in contrast to aggression, indifference does not hurt anyone. But Brewer (2001) insists that devaluation of outgroups will begin in its slightest form, if empathy and cooperation are limited to ingroup members. The conclusion, then, is: patriots do probably not love every human being.

From this point of view, it does not make sense that nationalism and patriotism are arranged at a normatively evaluated continuum ranging from reciprocal acceptance and fairness to mutual rejection and aggression. Instead, motivation for distinction is not only relevant for nationalist but also for patriots. The crucial point is that both groups refer to different cognitive attitude objects (Heinrich/Stephan 2005). Patriots identify with society as democratic constituted political system. In contrast, nationalists refer to the nation as a diffuse attitude object. The latter leaves open, whether people refer to a political system, to an ethnic group, or to a geographic space connected with national dreams of imperial power (Mohler/Götze 1992). Similar attitudes are widespread in the right-wing extremist realm and suggest xenophobia (Kohlstruck 2005).

Need for inclusion serves ingroup loyalty. But mechanisms of social control only work very limited with large-scale societies because interests are far apart between several sub-groups. By definition, this is no problem for patriots who perceive democracy and guarantee of human rights as essential institutions enabling individual development. Consequently, social comparison processes carried out by patriots do not devalue any other *nation*. Rather, they try to gain a realistic self-concept via comparisons. This may lead, then, to efforts to improve the own society. Here, *the enemies*

are those undermining democracy. We assume that patriots are unwilling to share group resources with people who do not like freedom, equality, who disagree with the basic principles of democracy.

This is not to say that patriots would have lesser identification with their nation because of their critical distance toward it. Instead, patriots may be conscious about the two-edged character of national identification as realm of those who run free their national arrogance. Nevertheless, independent of nationalists' behaviour, there are patriots who insist on identification with their country. They want to be proud of its collective achievements like the others. They do not see why they should deny love of country only because nationalists do identify with nation, too. Furthermore, nationalists may be proud of their democratic society independent of whether they identify with democracy or not. Then, their object of pride is an aspect of their nation by means of which its members stand out when compared to other nations. If so, nationalists and patriots will be essentially alike. As a consequence, we should assume a positive correlation between nationalism and patriotism.

When considering the relationship between nationalism and xenophobia, by definition, it is clear that nationalists are receptive for idealization of their nation as well as for ethnocentrism. They see their nation as being in competition with other nations. They achieve self-esteem by both, perceiving themselves as members of a dominant group and devaluing outgroups. Therefore, we should expect a positive correlation between nationalism and xenophobia.

In contrast, we should assume that patriotism is clearly negatively correlated with xenophobia. Patriots oppose devaluation of immigrants or foreigners because equal rights of all human beings are an essential value to them. Here, a negative correlation should be expected between patriotism and xenophobia.

These considerations pick up Viroli's (1995) historical reflections about the nature of individuals' relationship toward the own country. The intellectual discussions within the last five centuries give an impression that nationalism and patriotism have something in common with each other because both concepts describe identification with an ingroup important to the individual.

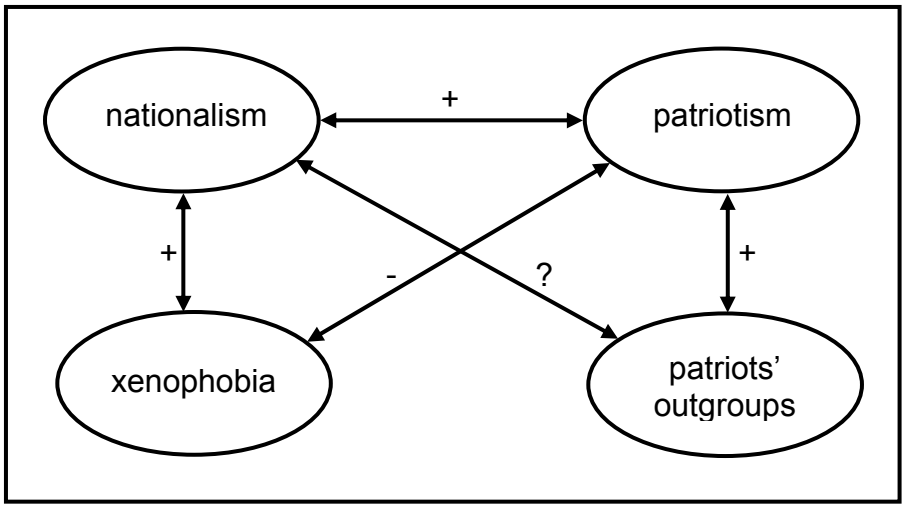
From perspective of optimal distinctiveness theory nationalists and patriots refer to different objects of discrimination. Whereas nationalists tend to exclude those usually perceived as outgroup members, patriots should discriminate between democrats

and advocates of autocratic regimes. When generalizing this idea, it is clear that there is no structural difference between nationalists and patriots to exclude others from their respective ingroup. Exclusion takes place insofar as those who cause disconcertment seem to be or behave somehow foreign or different from us. The structure model presented in illustration 1 reminds us that patriots, too, are confronted with outgroups which they dislike and which they are willing to exclude from resources solely supplied for those similar to themselves.

If we perceive nationalism and patriotism this way, it makes sense to assume a model with four factors in total. Here, patriotism and attitudes toward patriotic outgroups should be positively correlated.

The relationship between nationalism and patriotic outgroups cannot be specified because it obviously depends on the type of outgroup. If patriots refer negatively to xenophobe citizens, it will be likely that nationalists reject these attitudes. They are not willing to accept their exclusion from their own society. Yet, if we refer to enemies of democracy, it will be difficult to predict nationalists' behaviour. It may be that they disagree with attitudes describing exclusion of people who are against the constitution or against participation. Nevertheless, one can imagine that some nationalist will agree, here, because those who fight the freedom are willing to exploit the liberties available in our Western societies. Insofar we cannot predict this relationship we will apply an exploratory analysis.

ill. 1: Structure model describing relationships between nationalism, patriotism, xenophobia, and attitudes toward patriots' outgroups



3. Development of questionnaire

A questionnaire with items measuring attitudes concerning nationalism, patriotism, xenophobia, and patriotic outgroups has been designed to test the hypotheses. Furthermore, it consisted of two items referring to national identification, three items measuring authoritarian attitudes, and a scale concerning left-right orientation. Finally, demographic data had been collected (age, sex, regional descent, and citizenship). Exact wording of all items together with frequency distributions can be taken from the table presented in the next chapter. Apart from the instrument concerning patriotic outgroups, almost all scales have been employed in several other studies. Therefore, they can be seen as valid. An overview about references of the items applied is given in table 1.

4. Survey design

Questionnaires have been spread in an introductory class on empirical research at University of Giessen in winter term 2007/08. Our data set consists of 169 cases in total. Participating students were born between 1972 and 1988. Median is in 1986. As it is normal for students of the social sciences, majority of questionnaires had been filled out by women (59,2%).

In the first analysis we computed two factor models operating with all patriotism and nationalism items included in the questionnaire (N=146). In the second step of analysis we used only those items which are really part of the respective model. As a consequence of reduction of variables the number of missing cases decreased. Therefore, the number of cases increased (model 1: N=150; model 2: N=152).

tab. 1: Item numbers with related references

item no.	references
6 -10	Heinrich 2007
12 -13	Heinrich/Stephan 2005
15; 16 +17 (modified); 18; 23; 24	Blank 2002
25; 27; 28	Blank/Schwarzer 1994
29	Heitmeyer 2003
30-32	Lederer/Schmidt 1995
11; 14; 19 - 22; 26	new development

5. Documentation of questionnaire

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(Survey about national identity Gießen 2007/08 page 1)

Nr.	Item	Fragebogennr.: (questionnaire no.:)	

Dieser Fragebogen ist Teil einer Validierungsstudie über Meßinstrumente zur nationalen Identität. Beachten Sie deshalb bei Ihren Antworten bitte die Formulierungsunterschiede bei den Items. Wir möchten von Ihnen nämlich wissen, wie Sie die jeweiligen Einstellungsobjekte beurteilen.

Da es sich um eine Panelstudie handelt, bitten wir Sie, zunächst Ihre Matrikelnummer auf dem Bogen zu vermerken, damit sich die Fragebögen aus den drei Wellen einander zuordnen lassen. Selbstverständlich werden Ihre Antworten anonym behandelt. Die Matrikelnummern werden von niemandem entschlüsselt.

Wenn Sie nicht die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft besitzen, ersetzen Sie in Gedanken bitte jeweils die Begriffe ***Deutschland*** oder ***deutsch*** durch den Namen Ihrer Nation. Vielen Dank!

(This questionnaire is part of a validation study concerning an instrument measuring national identity. When answering the items watch out for differences in question wording, please! You should know that we would like to know how you are assessing the respective attitude objects.

Furthermore, insofar as we are planning a panel study we would like to ask you to write down your matriculation number. Then, we will be able to assign your questionnaires to each other. There is no question that you can be sure that your answers remain anonymous. Nobody will decode matriculation numbers.

If you do not have German citizenship, replace the terms ***Germany*** or ***German*** by the name of your nation, please. Thank you very much, indeed!)

1 Ihre Matrikelnummer lautet: _____
What is your matriculation no.?

2 Kreisen Sie bitte ein: Sie sind?
You are ...

Weiblich *(female)*	[ ]	60,2 %
Männlich *(male)*	[ ]	39,8 %
missing		*0,0 %*

3 Sie sind in welchem Jahr geboren? 19_____
When are you born?

1972	0.6%	1982	1.1%	1987	25.0%
1975	0.6%	1983	3.9%	1988	11.7%
1978	0.6%	1984	7.8%	1989	0.6%
1980	1.1%	1985	18.3%		
1981	0.6%	1986	28.3%		

missing 0,6%

4 Wo sind Sie geboren und aufgewachsen? In …
Where are you born? In...

Ostdeutschland *(East Germany)*	[ ]	6,2 %
Westdeutschland *(West Germany)*	[ ]	81,5 %
außerhalb Deutschlands *(not in Germany)*	[ ]	7,9 %
Mischform *(as well as)*	[ ]	4,5 %
missing		*1,7 %*

5 Sind Sie für die **Bundestagswahl** wahlberechtigt?
Are you entitled to vote for the German Bundestag?

Ja *(yes)*	[ ]	93,3 %
Nein *(no)*	[ ]	6,7 %
missing		*1,1 %*

Zunächst wüßten wir gern, wie froh Sie über einzelne Errungenschaften in unserer Gesellschaft sind.

Stellen Sie sich hierzu bitte ein Thermometer vor, daß von 1 bis 7 reicht. Der Wert 1 hat hier die Bedeutung "überhaupt nicht froh", 7 bedeutet "sehr froh". Die Zahlenwerte von 2 bis 6 stehen für die entsprechenden Abstufungen dazwischen. Schätzen Sie bitte im folgenden den Grad Ihres Frohseins und ***kreisen*** Sie die passende Ziffer ***ein***.

	First of all, we would like to know how glad do you feel about some achievements in our society. *Imagine a thermometer, please, which ranges from 1 to 7. Here, score 1 means "not glad at all" whereas score 7 means "very glad". The scores from 2 to 6 represent the grading between the two poles. In the following, please, assess the degree of your gladness and mark the respective number.*	
6	Ich bin über das demokratische System in unserer Gesellschaft ... *With the democratic system of our society I am ...* *missing 0,0 %* überhaupt nicht froh: 1,1 % [1] / 0,6 % [2] / 4,4 % [3] / 12,2 % [4] / 22,7 % [5] / 26,5 % [6] / 32,6 % [7] sehr froh	
7	Ich bin über die politischen Mitbestimmungsmöglichkeiten in unserer Gesellschaft ... *With the possibilities for political participation in our society I am …* *missing 1,7 %* überhaupt nicht froh: 2,3 % [1] / 3,9 % [2] / 12,4 % [3] / 14,6 % [4] / 19,7 % [5] / 20,2 % [6] / 27,0 % [7] sehr froh	
8	Ich bin über die sozialstaatlichen Leistungen in unserer Gesellschaft ... *With the social security system in our society I am ...* *missing 1,7 %* überhaupt nicht froh: 1,7 % [1] / 5,1 % [2] / 11,2 % [3] / 16,9 % [4] / 29,2 % [5] / 20,8 % [6] / 15,2 % [7] sehr froh	
9	Über die Gewährleistung der Menschenrechte in unserer Gesellschaft bin ich ... *With the guarantee of human rights in our society I am ...* *missing 1,7 %* überhaupt nicht froh: 0,0 % [1] / 2,3 % [2] / 2,3 % [3] / 5,6 % [4] / 7,9 % [5] / 27,0 % [6] / 55,1 % [7] sehr froh	
10	Auf die parlamentarische Demokratie in unserer Gesellschaft bin ich ... *With the parliamentary democracy in our society I am ...* *missing 1,7 %* überhaupt nicht froh: 0,6 % [1] / 2,3 % [2] / 5,1 % [3] / 16,3 % [4] / 27,5 % [5] / 29,2 % [6] / 19,1 % [7] sehr froh	
11	Über die Kultur- und Meinungsvielfalt in unserer Gesellschaft bin ich ... *With the plurality of culture and political opinion in our society I am ...* *missing 2,2 %* überhaupt nicht froh: 0,5 % [1] / 4,0 % [2] / 3,4 % [3] / 9,0 % [4] / 19,8 % [5] / 26,6 % [6] / 36,7 % [7] sehr froh	
	In welchem Maß stimmen Sie den folgenden Aussagen zu? *To which degree do you agree with following statements? [scale: do not agree at all - agree completely]*	
12	Die Gewährleistung der Menschenrechte ist für ein gutes Zusammenleben der Menschen unbedingt notwendig. *Ensuring human rights is absolutely necessary for a proper social life of the people.* *missing 1,7 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 0,6 % [1] / 0,0 % [2] / 0,0 % [3] / 0,6 % [4] / 5,6 % [5] / 15,2 % [6] / 78,1 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	

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13	Die parlamentarische Demokratie ist alles in allem die beste Staatsform für das Wohlergehen der Menschen. *Parliamentary democracy is the best type of state for people's welfare.* *missing 2,2 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 3,4 % [1] / 1,1 % [2] / 4,0 % [3] / 23,2 % [4] / 17,0 % [5] / 33,3 % [6] / 18,1 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	

14	Für den Frieden in der Gesellschaft ist es wichtig, daß sich möglichst alle Menschen in ihr politisch beteiligen können. *To get peace within society it is essential that almost all people are able to participate in it.* *missing* *1,7 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 1,1 % [1] / 0,0 % [2] / 7,3 % [3] / 15,2 % [4] / 16,9 % [5] / 30,3 % [6] / 29,2 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
	Als nächstes wüßten wir gern Näheres über Ihren Stolz auf Deutschland. *Following we would like to know whether you are proud of Germany. [scale: not proud at all - very proud]*	
15	Wie stolz sind Sie, Deutsche/r zu sein? *How proud are you being a German?* *missing* *4,4 %* überhaupt nicht stolz: 6,9 % [1] / 5,8 % [2] / 10,4 % [3] / 24,3 % [4] / 24,3 % [5] / 17,9 % [6] / 10,4 % [7] sehr stolz	
16	Wenn Deutschland in Europa die Nr. 1 ist, macht mich das ... *If Germany is no.1 in Europe, I will feel ...* *missing* *3,9 %* überhaupt nicht stolz: 9,8 % [1] / 5,2 % [2] / 7,5 % [3] / 21,3 % [4] / 21,3 % [5] / 14,9 % [6] / 20,1 % [7] sehr stolz	
17	Die Tatsache, daß Deutschland in Europa die Nr. 1 ist, macht mich ... *About the fact that Germany is no.1 in Europe I feel ...* *missings* *3,9 %* überhaupt nicht stolz: 12,6 % [1] / 3,5 % [2] / 8,1 % [3] / 21,3 % [4] / 19,5 % [5] / 16,1 % [6] / 19,0 % [7] sehr stolz	
18	Ich bin auf die deutsche Geschichte ... *On German history I feel ...* *missing* *1,7 %* überhaupt nicht stolz: 35,4 % [1] / 20,2 % [2] / 19,1 % [3] / 15,7 % [4] / 3,4 % [5] / 2,8 % [6] / 3,4 % [7] sehr stolz	
19	Ich bin auf die kulturellen Leistungen, die von Deutschen erbracht wurden, ... *About cultural achievements provided by Germans I feel ...* *missing* *1,1 %* überhaupt nicht stolz: 3,4 % [1] / 4,5 % [2] / 10,1 % [3] / 24,0 % [4] / 24,6 % [5] / 20,1 % [6] / 13,4 % [7] sehr stolz	
	Teilen Sie uns bitte mit, in welchem Maß Sie folgenden Aspekten zustimmen. *Tell us, please, in how far you agree with following statements. [scale: do not agree at all - agree completely]*	
20	Deutschland ist für mich die Nr.1 in Europa. *In my view, Germany is no.1 in Europe.* *missing* *2,2 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 15,8 % [1] / 11,3 % [2] / 19,2 % [3] / 19,8 % [4] / 14,7 % [5] / 9,6 % [6] / 9,6 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
21	Deutsche Künstler und Erfinder haben die Welt maßgeblich geprägt. *German artists and inventors had a strong impact on the world.* *missing* *1,6 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 2,3 % [1] / 3,4 % [2] / 6,2 % [3] / 15,2 % [4] / 22,5 % [5] / 28,7 % [6] / 21,9 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	

22	In der Europäischen Union sollte Deutschland die führende Rolle spielen. *Germany should play the leading role in Europe.* *missing* *2,8 %* stimme über-haupt nicht zu: 14,2 % [1] / 7,4 % [2] / 15,3 % [3] / 26,1 % [4] / 24,4 % [5] / 8,5 % [6] / 4,0 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
	In welchem Verhältnis sehen Sie sich selber zur Bundesrepublik? *Could you describe your personal relationship toward the Federal Republic, please?*	
23	Die Tatsache, daß ich Bundesbürger/in bin, ist für mich ... *The fact that I am citizen of the Federal Republic is... [scale: not important at all - very important]* *missing* *2,8%* überhaupt nicht wichtig: 9,1 % [1] / 4,0 % [2] / 9,7 % [3] / 21,1 % [4] / 21,1 % [5] / 18,8 % [6] / 16,5 % [7] sehr wichtig	
24	Eine innere Bindung an die Bundesrepublik zu haben, bedeutet mir ... *To have an inner relationship toward the Federal Republic means... [scale: nothing - a lot]* *missing* *1,1 %* überhaupt nichts: 11,2 % [1] / 9,5 % [2] / 16,8 % [3] / 20,7 % [4] / 19,6 % [5] / 15,6 % [6] / 6,7 % [7] sehr viel	

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	Im folgenden stehen ein paar Aussagen, die manche Leute heute so äußern. In welchem Maß stimmen Sie diesen Aussagen zu? *In the following you will read some statements which are mentioned by people sometimes. To which degree do you agree with these statements? [scale: do not agree at all - agree completely]*	
25	Wenn Arbeitsplätze knapp werden, sollte man in Deutschland lebende Ausländer wieder in Ihre Heimat zurückschicken. *In case of a high unemployment rate foreigners living in Germany should be sent back to their native countries.* *missing* *0,6 %* stimme über-haupt nicht zu: 63,9 % [1] / 17,8 % [2] / 6,1 % [3] / 6,7 % [4] / 2,8 % [5] / 1,7 % [6] / 1,1 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
26	Die Ausländer, die in Deutschland leben, bereichern unsere Gesellschaft. *Foreigners living in Germany are a valuable addition of our society.* *missing* *0,6 %* stimme über-haupt nicht zu: 0,6 % [1] / 1,7 % [2] / 8,9 % [3] / 17,8 % [4] / 33,9 % [5] / 21,1 % [6] / 16,1 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
27	Man sollte den in Deutschland lebenden Ausländern jede politische Betätigung untersagen. *Foreigners living in Germany should be prohibited from any political activity.* *missing* *1,1 %* stimme über-haupt nicht zu: 61,5 % [1] / 22,9 % [2] / 8,4 % [3] / 4,5 % [4] / 2,2 % [5] / 0,6 % [6] / 0,0 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
28	Die in Deutschland lebenden Ausländer sollten ihre Ehepartner unter Ihren eigenen Landsleuten auswählen. *Foreigners living in Germany should choose their partner among their own countrymen and -women.* *missing* *0,6 %* stimme über-haupt nicht zu: 79,4 % [1] / 10,0 % [2] / 2,8 % [3] / 3,3 % [4] / 1,7 % [5] / 1,1 % [6] / 1,7 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	

29	Es leben zu viele Ausländer in Deutschland. *There are too many foreigners in Germany.* *missing* *2,2 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 38,4 % [1] · 26,0 % [2] · 13,0 % [3] · 10,2 % [4] · 4,0 % [5] · 6,2 % [6] · 2,3 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
30	Zu den wichtigsten Eigenschaften, die jemand haben kann, gehört disziplinierter Gehorsam Autoritäten gegenüber. *One of the most important qualities one can have is obedience to authority.* *missing* *1,7 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 39,9 % [1] · 21,9 % [2] · 14,0 % [3] · 10,1 % [4] · 6,7 % [5] · 5,1 % [6] · 2,3 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
31	Wir sollten dankbar sein für führende Köpfe, die uns sagen können, was wir tun sollen und wie. *We should be grateful for leaders telling us what we should do and how.* *missing* *1,7 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 38,8 % [1] · 22,5 % [2] · 18,0 % [3] · 11,2 % [4] · 6,7 % [5] · 1,7 % [6] · 1,1 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
32	Im Allgemeinen ist es einem Kind im späteren Leben nützlich, wenn es gezwungen wird, sich den Vorstellungen seiner Eltern anzupassen. *In general, it is good for a child to adopt his parents' values and attitudes.* *missing* *0,6 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 60,6 % [1] · 17,2 % [2] · 11,7 % [3] · 6,7 % [4] · 2,8 % [5] · 0,6 % [6] · 0,6 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
33	Ausländerfeinde haben keinen Platz in unserer Gesellschaft. *There is no space for foreigners' enemies in our society.* *missing* *1,1 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 6,7 % [1] · 3,4 % [2] · 4,5 % [3] · 5,0 % [4] · 3,9 % [5] · 12,9 % [6] · 63,7 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
34	Parteien, die sich gegen das Grundgesetz wenden, sollten verboten werden. *Parties operating against the constitution should be banned.* *missing* *0,6 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 6,1 % [1] · 5,0 % [2] · 4,4 % [3] · 5,0 % [4] · 7,2 % [5] · 17,2 % [6] · 55,0 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
35	Wer die Meinungsvielfalt unterdrücken will, sollte sich nicht zur Wahl stellen dürfen. *People who would like to suppress free speech, should not be allowed to run for member of parliament.* *missing* *1,1 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 7,3 % [1] · 3,9 % [2] · 2,2 % [3] · 7,8 % [4] · 5,6 % [5] · 18,4 % [6] · 54,8 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	
36	Verschleierte Frauen in der Öffentlichkeit gefährden die Errungenschaften der Frauenbewegung. *Veiled women in the public jeopardize the achievements of women's movement.* *missing* *1,1 %* stimme überhaupt nicht zu: 31,3 % [1] · 17,3 % [2] · 9,5 % [3] · 22,4 % [4] · 9,5 % [5] · 4,5 % [6] · 5,6 % [7] stimme voll und ganz zu	

	Umfrage zur nationalen Identität Gießen 2007/08 Seite 4 (Survey about national identity Gießen 2007/08 page 4)	
37	Viele Leute verwenden die Begriffe „links" und „rechts", wenn es darum geht, unterschiedliche politische Einstellungen zu kennzeichnen. Wenn Sie an Ihre eigenen politischen Ansichten denken, wo würden Sie sich auf einer Skala von 1 bis 10 einstufen? „1" steht hier für „sehr links" und „10" für „sehr rechts". *Many people use the concepts "left" and "right" to characterize contrary political opinions.* *Following scale runs from left to right. Thinking about your own political attitudes, where would you rate on this scale? Score 1 means very left. Score 10 means very right.* *missing 4,4 %* sehr links 1,7 % [1] 8,1 % [2] 23,1% [3] 24,9 % [4] 30,6 % [5] 6,4 % [6] 2,9 % [7] 1,2 % [8] 0,6 % [9] 0,6 % [10] sehr rechts	

6. Documentation of LISREL models

This research project enquires into outgroups relevant for patriots. As one can take from the questionnaire documented above, we created four items (item no. 33-36) addressing three types of outgroups: people hating foreigners, citizens preferring an autocratic regime instead of democracy; veiled women who can be perceived as threat of achievements of women's movement. In our study, first, we wanted to test the relationships between nationalism, patriotism, and xenophobia. Furthermore, we were interested in the relationships between the three factors toward a fourth one describing attitudes toward patriots' outgroups (Heinrich/Schmidt 2008).

First, a confirmatory factor analysis has been computed with nationalism, patriotism, xenophobia, and patriots' outgroups as factors (model 1a). The latter consisted of the four items just mentioned. Unfortunately, two items do not really fit in the model. Therefore, they have been omitted. Then, we computed a similar model in which the factor measuring patriots' outgroups consisted only of two items addressing enemies of democracy (model 2a).

In the second step of analysis, we repeated both analyses (model 1b and 2b). Here, we could operate a greater number of cases because both covariance matrices consisted only of those items which are part of the model. Insofar as we had been used listwise deletion, consequently, total number of missing cases decreased. Unfortunately, the model structures could not be confirmed.

6.1 Model 1a: 4 items measuring patriots' outgroups (N=146 cases)

```
Pat Giessen 2007 model 1a
Observed Variables:
demSys Mitbe MRcht Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel gg_Ausl gg_rchts gg_Parti Schlei
Covariance Matrix
 1.53524
 1.15139  2.47752
 .512754  .560368  1.13505
 .513793  .562069  .272414  2.41724
 .433774  .382853  .267785  1.93448  3.35045
 .316486   .34171  .187246  1.15172  1.27312  2.18007
-.282428 -.180964 -.194851  .355172  .637837  .003118  1.76027
-.271847 -.158007 -.064573  .162069  .427917  .089088  .682145  1.26939
-.064667  .144025 -.008928  .610345  .864289  .247426  1.29735  .536845  2.50699
 .013557  .118422 -.078555 -.458621 -.738356 -.485971 -.587388 -.383798 -.456731  3.43434
 .210817  .407983  .043316 -.196552 -.188805  -.32461   .18512 -.077232  .096221  1.62442  3.43736
 .202551  .276901  .011148 -.365517 -.231271 -.285309 -.063108 -.206708 -.358337  1.31601  2.05763  3.38706
 .305385 .452385 .336561 .237931 .149693 -.205385 .582097 .126453 .443127 -.189183 .43009 .119036 3.12371
Sample Size = 146
Latent Variables: Pat Nat Ausl Patfd
demSys Mitbe MRcht = Pat
Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur = Nat
AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel = Ausl
gg_Ausl gg_rchts gg_Parti = Patfd
gg_Ausl = Ausl
Schlei = Ausl
Schlei = Pat
Set the correlation between Ausl and Patfd equal to 0
Set the correlation between Nat and Patfd equal to 0
Number of Decimals = 3
Path Diagram SI=15,12
Lisrel Output MI SC AD=OFF
End of Problem
```

PARAMETER SPECIFICATIONS

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1	0	0	0
Mitbe	2	0	0	0
MRcht	3	0	0	0
Dt_Sein	0	4	0	0
weil_Nr1	0	5	0	0
Kultur	0	6	0	0
AF_Arbei	0	0	7	0
AF_Ehe	0	0	8	0
AF_viel	0	0	9	0
gg_Ausl	0	0	10	11
gg_rchts	0	0	0	12
gg_Parti	0	0	0	13
Schlei	14	0	15	0

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	0			
Nat	16	0		
Ausl	17	18	0	
Patfd	19	0	0	0

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
20	21	22	23	24	25

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg Ausl	gg rchts	gg Parti
26	27	28	29	30	31

Schlei
32

LISREL ESTIMATES (MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD)

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1.037	- -	- -	- -
	(0.108)			
	9.591			
Mitbe	1.125	- -	- -	- -
	(0.137)			
	8.233			
MRcht	0.519	- -	- -	- -
	(0.094)			
	5.520			
Dt_Sein	- -	1.328	- -	- -
		(0.122)		
		10.859		
weil_Nr1	- -	1.467	- -	- -
		(0.145)		
		10.100		
Kultur	- -	0.854	- -	- -
		(0.122)		
		6.996		
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	1.267	- -
			(0.110)	
			11.496	
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.541	- -
			(0.095)	
			5.689	
AF_viel	- -	- -	1.022	- -
			(0.132)	
			7.724	
gg_Ausl	- -	- -	-0.520	1.008
			(0.139)	(0.156)
			-3.750	6.445
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	1.673
				(0.171)
				9.779
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	1.235
				(0.163)
				7.588
Schlei	0.450	- -	0.534	- -
	(0.162)		(0.154)	
	2.782		3.467	

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.351	1.000		
	(0.092)			
	3.816			
Ausl	-0.195	0.256	1.000	
	(0.094)	(0.090)		
	-2.069	2.834		
Patfd	0.193	- -	- -	1.000
	(0.092)			
	2.097			

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.482	1.238	0.871	0.653	1.198	1.451
(0.153)	(0.225)	(0.112)	(0.192)	(0.258)	(0.190)
3.150	5.506	7.781	3.407	4.649	7.647

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg Ausl	gg rchts	gg Parti
0.154	0.977	1.463	2.194	0.640	1.863
(0.190)	(0.121)	(0.213)	(0.302)	(0.419)	(0.314)
0.812	8.067	6.862	7.258	1.527	5.925

Schlei
2.730
(0.331)
8.257

SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS FOR X - VARIABLES

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.690	0.505	0.236	0.730	0.642	0.335

AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_Ausl	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
0.912	0.230	0.417	0.370	0.814	0.450

Schlei
0.126

GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS
CHI-SQUARE WITH 59 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 50.088 (P = 0.789)
ROOT MEAN SQUARE ERROR OF APPROXIMATION (RMSEA) = 0.0
90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR RMSEA = (0.0 ; 0.0351)
P-VALUE FOR TEST OF CLOSE FIT (RMSEA < 0.05) = 0.992
ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL (RMR) = 0.170
STANDARDIZED RMR = 0.0651
GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (GFI) = 0.950
ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (AGFI) = 0.923
PARSIMONY GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (PGFI) = 0.616

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	- -	0.057	0.455	0.463
Mitbe	- -	0.002	1.113	0.864
MRcht	- -	0.101	0.283	0.596
Dt_Sein	1.115	- -	0.791	0.139
weil_Nr1	2.276	- -	5.076	0.002
Kultur	0.034	- -	4.272	1.672
AF_Arbei	1.414	5.046	- -	1.418
AF_Ehe	1.543	0.153	- -	1.301
AF_viel	3.360	5.482	- -	0.154
gg_Ausl	3.137	2.399	- -	- -
gg_rchts	0.061	0.251	2.091	- -
gg_Parti	0.034	0.872	1.644	- -
Schlei	- -	1.938	- -	0.833

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	- -			
Nat	- -	- -		
Ausl	- -	- -	- -	
Patfd	- -	2.173	0.912	- -

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR THETA-DELTA

	demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
demSys	- -					
Mitbe	0.452	- -				
MRcht	0.387	0.046	- -			
Dt_Sein	0.054	0.252	0.006	- -		
weil_Nr1	0.011	0.854	0.174	1.805	- -	
Kultur	0.000	0.005	0.029	0.319	0.151	- -
AF_Arbei	0.027	0.001	2.608	0.246	0.211	3.319
AF_Ehe	2.494	0.024	0.523	0.623	1.994	0.227
AF_viel	0.008	1.259	0.294	0.493	0.260	0.137
gg_Ausl	0.559	0.025	0.568	0.414	0.850	1.035
gg_rchts	0.154	0.439	0.003	0.014	0.015	0.281
gg_Parti	0.305	0.032	0.070	1.553	0.422	0.043
Schlei	0.418	0.050	2.206	0.323	0.688	2.354

	AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg Ausl	gg rchts	gg Parti
AF_Arbei	- -					
AF_Ehe	0.199	- -				
AF_viel	0.237	0.041	- -			
gg_Ausl	0.003	0.134	0.243	- -		
gg_rchts	0.210	0.002	0.385	0.046	- -	
gg_Parti	0.621	0.345	3.654	0.437	1.583	- -
Schlei	1.151	0.355	0.323	0.163	1.156	0.137

```
            Schlei
   Schlei       - -

MAXIMUM MODIFICATION INDEX IS    5.48 FOR ELEMENT ( 9, 2) OF LAMBDA-X

COMPLETELY STANDARDIZED SOLUTION
        LAMBDA-X
                 Pat         Nat        Ausl       Patfd
   demSys       0.831       - -        - -        - -
    Mitbe       0.711       - -        - -        - -
    MRcht       0.486       - -        - -        - -
  Dt_Sein       - -        0.854       - -        - -
 weil_Nr1       - -        0.802       - -        - -
   Kultur       - -        0.578       - -        - -
 AF_Arbei       - -        - -        0.955       - -
   AF_Ehe       - -        - -        0.480       - -
  AF_viel       - -        - -        0.645       - -
  gg_Ausl       - -        - -       -0.278      0.541
 gg_rchts       - -        - -        - -        0.902
 gg_Parti       - -        - -        - -        0.671
   Schlei       0.255      - -        0.302       - -

        PHI
                 Pat         Nat        Ausl       Patfd
     Pat       1.000
     Nat       0.351      1.000
    Ausl      -0.195      0.256      1.000
   Patfd       0.193      - -        - -        1.000

        THETA-DELTA
            demSys       Mitbe       MRcht     Dt Sein    weil Nr1      Kultur
             0.310       0.495       0.764       0.270       0.358       0.665

          AF Arbei     AF Ehe     AF viel     gg Ausl    gg rchts    gg Parti
             0.088       0.770       0.583       0.630       0.186       0.550

            Schlei
             0.874
```

6.2 Model 1b: 4 items measuring patriots' outgroups (N=150 cases)

```
Pat Giessen 2007 model 1b
Observed Variables:
demSys Mitbe MRcht Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel gg_Ausl gg_rchts gg_Parti Schlei
Covariance Matrix
 1.70631
 1.31248  2.60497
 .683221  .716107  1.26734
 .453423  .511007  .228412   2.3723
 .357047  .334228  .208054   1.9047  3.30201
 .335034   .37906  .204027   1.1106  1.25235   2.1702
 -.289396 -.179732 -.196197  .354944  .633557  .000268  1.72747
 -.399732 -.249262  -.17472  .178031  .477852  .110872  .692036  1.41928
 -.203221  .051544 -.136018  .617539   .92349  .307114   1.2638  .671051  2.69459
 -.037584  .057718 -.129754 -.441163 -.711409 -.475168 -.589709 -.377629 -.390157   3.3915
 .173691  .377315  .011857  -.18868 -.165101 -.295034  .177136 -.039508  .163132  1.59821  3.36506
 .164295  .249128 -.020582 -.352662 -.205369 -.256107 -.064251 -.164116 -.276689 1.29843   2.023  3.3174
 .166711 .325235 .203356 .244698 .189262 -.176376 .554228 .218389 .600805 -.118121 .46698  .165638  3.18752
Sample Size = 150
Latent Variables: Pat Nat Ausl Patfd
demSys Mitbe MRcht = Pat
Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur = Nat
AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel = Ausl
gg_Ausl gg_rchts gg_Parti = Patfd
gg_Ausl = Ausl
Schlei = Ausl
Schlei = Pat
Set the correlation between Ausl and Patfd equal to 0
Set the correlation between Nat and Patfd equal to 0
Number of Decimals = 3
```

```
Path Diagram SI=15,12
Lisrel Output MI SC AD=OFF
End of Problem
```

PARAMETER SPECIFICATIONS

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1	0	0	0
Mitbe	2	0	0	0
MRcht	3	0	0	0
Dt_Sein	0	4	0	0
weil_Nr1	0	5	0	0
Kultur	0	6	0	0
AF_Arbei	0	0	7	0
AF_Ehe	0	0	8	0
AF_viel	0	0	9	0
gg_Ausl	0	0	10	11
gg_rchts	0	0	0	12
gg_Parti	0	0	0	13
Schlei	14	0	15	0

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	0			
Nat	16	0		
Ausl	17	18	0	
Patfd	19	0	0	0

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
20	21	22	23	24	25

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg Ausl	gg rchts	gg Parti
26	27	28	29	30	31

Schlei
32

LISREL ESTIMATES (MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD)

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1.137	- -	- -	- -
	(0.109)			
	10.421			
Mitbe	1.167	- -	- -	- -
	(0.135)			
	8.661			
MRcht	0.614	- -	- -	- -
	(0.095)			
	6.461			
Dt_Sein	- -	1.284	- -	- -
		(0.120)		
		10.664		
weil_Nr1	- -	1.492	- -	- -
		(0.142)		
		10.477		
Kultur	- -	0.842	- -	- -
		(0.121)		
		6.981		
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	1.116	- -
			(0.108)	
			10.291	
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.629	- -
			(0.102)	
			6.184	
AF_viel	- -	- -	1.124	- -
			(0.137)	
			8.211	

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
gg_Ausl	- -	- -	-0.537	0.991
			(0.143)	(0.154)
			-3.758	6.425
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	1.669
				(0.170)
				9.807
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	1.216
				(0.160)
				7.584
Schlei	0.305	- -	0.544	- -
	(0.161)		(0.164)	
	1.898		3.322	

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.285	1.000		
	(0.093)			
	3.083			
Ausl	-0.210	0.332	1.000	
	(0.097)	(0.092)		
	-2.160	3.611		
Patfd	0.146	- -	- -	1.000
	(0.091)			
	1.614			

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.429	1.259	0.895	0.723	1.077	1.461
(0.164)	(0.222)	(0.116)	(0.185)	(0.255)	(0.188)
2.619	5.664	7.725	3.909	4.218	7.772

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg Ausl	gg rchts	gg Parti
0.483	1.024	1.432	2.159	0.579	1.839
(0.157)	(0.132)	(0.228)	(0.298)	(0.424)	(0.308)
3.072	7.751	6.266	7.253	1.364	5.966

Schlei
2.867
(0.343)
8.366

SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS FOR X - VARIABLES

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.751	0.520	0.297	0.695	0.674	0.327

AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_Ausl	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
0.720	0.279	0.469	0.370	0.828	0.446

Schlei
0.100

GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS

CHI-SQUARE WITH 59 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 49.503 (P = 0.806)

ROOT MEAN SQUARE ERROR OF APPROXIMATION (RMSEA) = 0.0

90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR RMSEA = (0.0 ; 0.0333)

P-VALUE FOR TEST OF CLOSE FIT (RMSEA < 0.05) = 0.994

ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL (RMR) = 0.158

STANDARDIZED RMR = 0.0616

GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (GFI) = 0.953

ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (AGFI) = 0.927

PARSIMONY GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (PGFI) = 0.618

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	- -	0.003	0.901	0.457
Mitbe	- -	0.064	1.686	1.215
MRcht	- -	0.000	0.137	0.829
Dt_Sein	1.047	- -	1.314	0.244
weil_Nr1	2.893	- -	5.921	0.002
Kultur	0.568	- -	4.065	1.426
AF_Arbei	0.093	2.946	- -	0.532
AF_Ehe	4.465	0.008	- -	0.665
AF_viel	1.456	3.311	- -	0.033
gg_Ausl	4.043	1.859	- -	- -
gg_rchts	0.202	0.211	2.509	- -
gg_Parti	0.055	0.877	2.482	- -
Schlei	- -	1.233	- -	1.872

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	- -			
Nat	- -	- -		
Ausl	- -	- -	- -	
Patfd	- -	1.962	0.980	- -

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR THETA-DELTA

	demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
demSys	- -					
Mitbe	0.029	- -				
MRcht	0.163	0.030	- -			
Dt_Sein	0.065	0.269	0.078	- -		
weil_Nr1	0.005	0.809	0.045	1.164	- -	
Kultur	0.013	0.067	0.086	0.693	0.006	- -
AF_Arbei	0.290	0.004	0.417	0.136	0.143	4.324
AF_Ehe	3.935	0.038	0.017	1.018	2.111	0.174
AF_viel	0.180	1.587	0.086	0.167	0.220	0.341
gg_Ausl	0.888	0.008	0.748	0.519	0.541	0.945
gg_rchts	0.047	0.719	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.322
gg_Parti	0.193	0.033	0.145	1.516	0.539	0.046
Schlei	0.456	0.169	0.654	0.442	0.455	2.240

	AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg Ausl	gg rchts	gg Parti
AF_Arbei	- -					
AF_Ehe	0.156	- -				
AF_viel	0.352	0.273	- -			
gg_Ausl	1.600	0.001	1.847	- -		
gg_rchts	0.687	0.029	0.243	0.007	- -	
gg_Parti	0.130	0.065	2.472	1.037	2.815	- -
Schlei	0.127	0.093	0.051	0.010	1.338	0.031

	Schlei
Schlei	- -

MAXIMUM MODIFICATION INDEX IS 5.92 FOR ELEMENT (5, 3) OF LAMBDA-X

COMPLETELY STANDARDIZED SOLUTION

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	0.867	- -	- -	- -
Mitbe	0.721	- -	- -	- -
MRcht	0.545	- -	- -	- -
Dt_Sein	- -	0.834	- -	- -
weil_Nr1	- -	0.821	- -	- -
Kultur	- -	0.571	- -	- -
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	0.849	- -
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.528	- -
AF_viel	- -	- -	0.685	- -
gg_Ausl	- -	- -	-0.290	0.535
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	0.910
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	0.668
Schlei	0.171	- -	0.305	- -

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.285	1.000		
Ausl	-0.210	0.332	1.000	
Patfd	0.146	- -	- -	1.000

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt_Sein	weil_Nr1	Kultur
0.249	0.480	0.703	0.305	0.326	0.673

AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_Ausl	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
0.280	0.721	0.531	0.630	0.172	0.554

Schlei
0.900

6.3 Model 2a: 2 items measuring patriots' outgroups (N=146 cases)

```
Pat Giessen 2007 model 2a
Observed Variables:
demSys Mitbe MRcht Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel gg_Ausl gg_rchts gg_Parti Schlei
Covariance Matrix
 1.53524
 1.15139  2.47752
 .512754  .560368  1.13505
 .513793  .562069  .272414  2.41724
 .433774  .382853  .267785  1.93448  3.35045
 .316486   .34171  .187246  1.15172  1.27312  2.18007
 -.282428 -.180964 -.194851  .355172  .637837  .003118  1.76027
 -.271847 -.158007 -.064573  .162069  .427917  .089088  .682145  1.26939
 -.064667  .144025 -.008928  .610345  .864289  .247426  1.29735  .536845  2.50699
 .013557  .118422 -.078555 -.458621 -.738356 -.485971 -.587388 -.383798 -.456731  3.43434
 .210817  .407983  .043316 -.196552 -.188805  -.32461   .18512 -.077232  .096221  1.62442  3.43736
 .202551 .276901 .011148 -.365517 -.231271 -.285309 -.063108 -.206708 -.358337 1.31601 2.05763 3.38706
 .305385 .452385 .336561 .237931 .149693 -.205385 .582097 .126453 .443127 -.189183  .43009 .119036  3.12371
Sample Size = 146
Latent Variables: Pat Nat Ausl Patfd
demSys Mitbe MRcht = Pat
Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur = Nat
AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel = Ausl
gg_rchts = Patfd
gg_Parti = Patfd
Set the correlation between Ausl and Patfd equal to 0
Set the correlation between Nat and Patfd equal to 0
Number of Decimals = 3
Path Diagram SI=15,12
Lisrel Output MI SC AD=OFF
End of Problem

PARAMETER SPECIFICATIONS
        LAMBDA-X
```

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1	0	0	0
Mitbe	2	0	0	0
MRcht	3	0	0	0
Dt_Sein	0	4	0	0
weil_Nr1	0	5	0	0
Kultur	0	6	0	0
AF_Arbei	0	0	7	0
AF_Ehe	0	0	8	0
AF_viel	0	0	9	0
gg_rchts	0	0	0	10
gg_Parti	0	0	0	11

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	0			
Nat	12	0		
Ausl	13	14	0	
Patfd	15	0	0	0

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
16	17	18	19	20	21

AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
22	23	24	25	26

LISREL ESTIMATES (MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD)

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1.056	- -	- -	- -
	(0.111)			
	9.508			
Mitbe	1.106	- -	- -	- -
	(0.139)			
	7.970			
MRcht	0.505	- -	- -	- -
	(0.094)			
	5.353			
Dt_Sein	- -	1.323	- -	- -
		(0.122)		
		10.851		
weil_Nr1	- -	1.472	- -	- -
		(0.145)		
		10.172		
Kultur	- -	0.855	- -	- -
		(0.122)		
		7.004		
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	1.210	- -
			(0.120)	
			10.087	
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.561	- -
			(0.098)	
			5.745	
AF_viel	- -	- -	1.067	- -
			(0.139)	
			7.698	
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	1.634
				(0.435)
				3.758
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	1.260
				(0.349)
				3.612

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.355	1.000		
	(0.092)			
	3.876			
Ausl	-0.197	0.283	1.000	
	(0.097)	(0.093)		
	-2.033	3.051		
Patfd	0.199	- -	- -	1.000
	(0.098)			
	2.030			

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.440	1.276	0.885	0.666	1.182	1.450
(0.165)	(0.231)	(0.113)	(0.189)	(0.256)	(0.190)
2.670	5.534	7.831	3.517	4.622	7.648

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg rchts	gg Parti
0.297	0.954	1.369	0.769	1.801
(0.209)	(0.122)	(0.229)	(1.368)	(0.838)
1.417	7.808	5.977	0.562	2.148

SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS FOR X - VARIABLES

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.717	0.489	0.224	0.725	0.647	0.335

	AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
	0.831	0.248	0.454	0.776	0.468

GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS
CHI-SQUARE WITH 40 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 34.576 (P = 0.712)
ROOT MEAN SQUARE ERROR OF APPROXIMATION (RMSEA) = 0.0
90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR RMSEA = (0.0 ; 0.0448)
P-VALUE FOR TEST OF CLOSE FIT (RMSEA < 0.05) = 0.970
ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL (RMR) = 0.144
STANDARDIZED RMR = 0.0584
GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (GFI) = 0.959
ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (AGFI) = 0.932
PARSIMONY GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (PGFI) = 0.581

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	- -	0.023	0.495	0.295
Mitbe	- -	0.003	1.141	0.956
MRcht	- -	0.110	0.252	0.402
Dt_Sein	0.998	- -	0.925	0.220
weil_Nr1	2.186	- -	5.268	0.011
Kultur	0.079	- -	4.100	1.351
AF_Arbei	0.870	4.299	- -	1.844
AF_Ehe	1.515	0.033	- -	1.165
AF_viel	4.305	4.846	- -	0.168
gg_rchts	1.207	0.005	2.086	- -
gg_Parti	0.002	1.215	2.060	- -

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	- -			
Nat	- -	- -		
Ausl	- -	- -	- -	
Patfd	- -	1.749	0.578	- -

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR THETA-DELTA

	demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
demSys	- -					
Mitbe	0.198	- -				
MRcht	0.296	0.044	- -			
Dt_Sein	0.063	0.331	0.000	- -		
weil_Nr1	0.002	0.969	0.150	1.655	- -	
Kultur	0.049	0.000	0.019	0.410	0.079	- -
AF_Arbei	0.072	0.000	1.542	0.265	0.382	3.823
AF_Ehe	2.510	0.018	0.505	0.771	1.831	0.168
AF_viel	0.002	1.414	0.348	0.386	0.123	0.075
gg_rchts	0.557	0.830	0.030	0.151	0.060	0.987
gg_Parti	0.182	0.054	0.138	1.369	0.350	0.011

	AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg rchts	gg Parti
AF_Arbei	- -				
AF_Ehe	0.088	- -			
AF_viel	1.495	1.260	- -		
gg_rchts	0.485	0.051	0.732	- -	
gg_Parti	0.383	0.299	3.470	- -	- -

MAXIMUM MODIFICATION INDEX IS 5.27 FOR ELEMENT (5, 3) OF LAMBDA-X

COMPLETELY STANDARDIZED SOLUTION LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	0.847	- -	- -	- -
Mitbe	0.699	- -	- -	- -
MRcht	0.473	- -	- -	- -
Dt_Sein	- -	0.851	- -	- -
weil_Nr1	- -	0.804	- -	- -
Kultur	- -	0.579	- -	- -
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	0.912	- -
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.498	- -
AF_viel	- -	- -	0.674	- -
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	0.881
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	0.684

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.355	1.000		
Ausl	-0.197	0.283	1.000	
Patfd	0.199	- -	- -	1.000

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.283	0.511	0.776	0.275	0.353	0.665

AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
0.169	0.752	0.546	0.224	0.532

6.4 Model 2b: 2 items measuring patriots' outgroups (N=152 cases)

```
Pat Giessen 2007 model 2b
Observed Variables:
demSys Mitbe MRcht Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel gg_rchts gg_Parti
Covariance Matrix
 1.73562
 1.32625  2.61067
 .715145  .727083  1.28368
 .517166  .552806  .279148  2.43669
 .424015  .380272  .260457  1.97813  3.35988
 .361537  .433601   .21789  1.15027   1.2927  2.23802
-.267428 -.159638 -.180594  .376743  .652579  .024094   1.7131
-.383496 -.235274 -.164561  .191661  .488062   .12378  .688001  1.40358
-.166957  .083653 -.110143  .658418  .962008  .347159  1.26281  .671663  2.68804
 .185518  .425235  .014334  -.15332 -.128006 -.198022  .193839 -.027492  .196236  3.41613
 .162252  .304636 -.031457  -.32947 -.182119 -.140728 -.044702 -.150662 -.238411  2.11755  3.43377
Sample Size = 152
Latent Variables: Pat Nat Ausl Patfd
demSys Mitbe MRcht = Pat
Dt_Sein weil_Nr1 Kultur = Nat
AF_Arbeit AF_Ehe AF_viel = Ausl
gg_rchts = 1*Patfd
gg_Parti = Patfd
Set the correlation between Ausl and Patfd equal to 0
Set the correlation between Nat and Patfd equal to 0
Set the variance of Patfd equal to 1
Number of Decimals = 3
Path Diagram SI=15,12
Lisrel Output MI SC AD=OFF
End of Problem
```

PARAMETER SPECIFICATIONS

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1	0	0	0
Mitbe	2	0	0	0
MRcht	3	0	0	0
Dt_Sein	0	4	0	0
weil_Nr1	0	5	0	0
Kultur	0	6	0	0
AF_Arbei	0	0	7	0
AF_Ehe	0	0	8	0
AF_viel	0	0	9	0
gg_rchts	0	0	0	0
gg_Parti	0	0	0	10

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	0			
Nat	11	0		
Ausl	12	13	0	
Patfd	14	0	0	0

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
15	16	17	18	19	20

	AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
	21	22	23	24	25

LISREL ESTIMATES (MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD)

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	1.170	- -	- -	- -
	(0.110)			
	10.652			
Mitbe	1.134	- -	- -	- -
	(0.134)			
	8.451			
MRcht	0.620	- -	- -	- -
	(0.095)			
	6.549			
Dt_Sein	- -	1.311	- -	- -
		(0.119)		
		10.977		
weil_Nr1	- -	1.517	- -	- -
		(0.141)		
		10.789		
Kultur	- -	0.855	- -	- -
		(0.121)		
		7.060		
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	1.061	- -
			(0.113)	
			9.409	
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.639	- -
			(0.102)	
			6.269	
AF_viel	- -	- -	1.172	- -
			(0.140)	
			8.353	
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	1.000
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	2.046
				(0.317)
				6.456

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.311	1.000		
	(0.090)			
	3.451			
Ausl	-0.194	0.361	1.000	
	(0.098)	(0.092)		
	-1.974	3.948		
Patfd	0.073	- -	- -	1.000
	(0.074)			
	0.979			

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.370	1.327	0.900	0.718	1.059	1.507
(0.172)	(0.221)	(0.116)	(0.182)	(0.249)	(0.192)
2.148	5.997	7.769	3.946	4.252	7.869

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg rchts	gg Parti
0.588	0.996	1.314	2.353	-0.800
(0.166)	(0.131)	(0.241)	(0.383)	(1.047)
3.549	7.614	5.446	6.138	-0.765

SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS FOR X - VARIABLES

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.787	0.492	0.300	0.705	0.685	0.327

AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg rchts	gg Parti
0.657	0.291	0.511	0.298	1.236

GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS
CHI-SQUARE WITH 41 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 35.376 (P = 0.718)
ROOT MEAN SQUARE ERROR OF APPROXIMATION (RMSEA) = 0.0
90 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVAL FOR RMSEA = (0.0 ; 0.0432)
P-VALUE FOR TEST OF CLOSE FIT (RMSEA < 0.05) = 0.975
ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL (RMR) = 0.131
STANDARDIZED RMR = 0.0536
GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (GFI) = 0.959
ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (AGFI) = 0.934
PARSIMONY GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX (PGFI) = 0.596

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	- -	0.099	0.752	0.010
Mitbe	- -	0.071	1.534	0.524
MRcht	- -	0.014	0.131	0.737
Dt_Sein	1.190	- -	1.629	1.648
weil_Nr1	2.743	- -	5.752	0.283
Kultur	0.607	- -	3.202	0.009
AF_Arbei	0.046	2.231	- -	0.369
AF_Ehe	4.257	0.092	- -	0.259
AF_viel	2.685	3.239	- -	0.975
gg_rchts	0.623	0.036	2.153	2.040
gg_Parti	0.722	1.049	2.288	- -

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	- -			
Nat	- -	- -		
Ausl	- -	- -	- -	
Patfd	- -	0.810	0.370	2.041

MODIFICATION INDICES FOR THETA-DELTA

	demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
demSys	- -					
Mitbe	0.066	- -				
MRcht	0.549	0.258	- -			
Dt_Sein	0.143	0.214	0.012	- -		
weil_Nr1	0.022	1.040	0.078	1.017	- -	
Kultur	0.081	0.259	0.017	0.623	0.007	- -
AF_Arbei	0.336	0.010	0.211	0.157	0.286	4.532
AF_Ehe	3.784	0.020	0.052	1.145	2.097	0.105
AF_viel	0.003	1.870	0.010	0.106	0.074	0.282
gg_rchts	0.034	1.736	0.006	0.060	0.261	0.872
gg_Parti	0.030	0.009	0.409	1.412	0.525	0.274

	AF Arbei	AF Ehe	AF viel	gg rchts	gg Parti
AF_Arbei	- -				
AF_Ehe	0.201	- -			
AF_viel	2.108	2.447	- -		
gg_rchts	0.703	0.110	1.840	- -	
gg_Parti	0.003	0.019	2.293	2.040	- -

MAXIMUM MODIFICATION INDEX IS 5.75 FOR ELEMENT (5, 3) OF LAMBDA-X

COMPLETELY STANDARDIZED SOLUTION

LAMBDA-X

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
demSys	0.887	- -	- -	- -
Mitbe	0.702	- -	- -	- -
MRcht	0.547	- -	- -	- -
Dt_Sein	- -	0.840	- -	- -
weil_Nr1	- -	0.827	- -	- -
Kultur	- -	0.571	- -	- -
AF_Arbei	- -	- -	0.810	- -
AF_Ehe	- -	- -	0.539	- -
AF_viel	- -	- -	0.715	- -
gg_rchts	- -	- -	- -	0.546
gg_Parti	- -	- -	- -	1.112

PHI

	Pat	Nat	Ausl	Patfd
Pat	1.000			
Nat	0.311	1.000		
Ausl	-0.194	0.361	1.000	
Patfd	0.073	- -	- -	1.000

THETA-DELTA

demSys	Mitbe	MRcht	Dt Sein	weil Nr1	Kultur
0.213	0.508	0.700	0.295	0.315	0.673

AF_Arbei	AF_Ehe	AF_viel	gg_rchts	gg_Parti
0.343	0.709	0.489	0.702	-0.236

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